461 Contracting and casual employment near the village are the most popular forms of paid work, since it is possible to maintain subsistence production and even cash crops at the same time.

(iv) Remittances. Remittances are closely related to the number of absentees. Few Orokaiva have been eligible for skilled work because of the limited educational opportunities available until very recently.[1] Those in employment almost invariably see themselves as being only temporarily absent from their villages[2] and therefore feel the need to maintain kinship links and settle obligations. They normally return to their villages for leave and, if married, may leave their families in the village in the care of relatives, since few employers provide married accommodation.

166

431 Single remittances are frequently of the order of $10 in cash or comprise gifts of clothing, tobacco, transistor radios and similar storebought goods beyond the financial reach of most villagers. The recipients say that they would like to reciprocate with gifts of food, particularly taro, but are precluded from it by the problems of posting or air-freighting heavy and perishable goods.

443 (v) Other sources of income. Since Papuans became eligible to hold licences to trade in 1959, several Orokaiva men have established trade stores. Their stocks are fairly limited and include rice, tinned foods, sugar, tobacco and small household goods. Since 1963, most have obtained their supplies from Oro Ltd and many have shares in this company. A number of the stores have experienced operational difficulties on account of the pressures of kin for credit or special favours, but some of the Orokaiva owners in 1964 were operating at a profit. One such store was established in Inonda in 1963.

434

438

525 Gambling with cards is illegal but is nevertheless popular. Orokaiva villagers play among themselves for areca or matches, although they prefer to play for cash against plantation or road labourers and settlers. Villagers sometimes win large sums in this way.[3] A winner is usually expected to return some of his gains to

---

[1] Dakeyne (1965:94), however, found a high proportion of skilled men amongst the Yega people, who have had the longest educational experience in the Northern District, with a school at Gona since 1910.

[2] Only two of the absent Sivepe men had not sent presents home for several years. One committed suicide in 1964; the other stated categorically that he had no intention of returning to the village, but in fact did return on leave at the end of 1965.

762

[3] A Hohota man won $60 in one session with the Girua block settlers and Dakeyne (1966b:37) cites a case of a Yega man winning $86 from plantation labourers.

512
461

Table 6:14 illustrates the main features of the activity patterns of the six individuals. Linton devotes a large amount of time to such minor activities as hunting (81 per cent of other subsistence food production) and construction (84 per cent of other subsistence activities), the latter mainly on improvements and repairs to his house rather than major rebuilding. Mourning accounted for 54 per cent of the 4.3 hours spent on social obligations, an unusually high figure even for older people and a reflection of his allegiance to customary forms of behaviour.[1]

Table 6:14

Sivepe: activity patterns of selected individuals
(hours per man-week)

	Cash croppers				Non-cash croppers	
Name	Linton	Palminus	Gorukari	Olga	Rodney Gill	Umbahapa
No. of weeks present	25.0	24.4	26.7	26.7	22.1	26.6
Percentage of survey days temporarily absent	7.4	9.5	1.1	1.1	17.9	1.5
Subsistence						
i. Productive						
Clearing	4.0	4.3	3.5	2.7	3.0	6.3
Subsistence gardening	13.7	15.3	17.9	18.7	2.5	12.5
Other subsistence food production	8.0	9.1	1.4	0.3	5.2	1.2
Other subsistence activities	5.1	2.3	0.5	0.2	3.1	2.9
Household	0.9	1.0	12.5	13.0	0.4	0.5
ii. Non-productive						
Social obligations	4.3	5.9	3.1	3.1	6.9	1.9
External						
i. Productive						
Cash cropping	3.1	5.9	1.7	1.3	0.4	-
Paid work	4.4	-	-	-	8.6	-
ii. Non-productive						
External agencies	7.2	5.6	6.4	5.9	6.0	3.3
Sickness	0.8	0.9	1.4	0.5	1.3	0.7
Other	1.4	0.7	0.6	-	0.4	-
Total	52.9	51.0	49.0	45.8	43.7	29.4
Percentage of total time spent in						
Productive activities	74	74	78	79	53	80
Subsistence activities	68	74	79	83	48	88

[762]

[1] During the year an age-mate from Seho clan committed suicide in Port Moresby and Linton acted as one of the chief mourners.

731 did not encourage this belief but spoke of the eruption as a natural
784 disaster. Certainly this is how Orokaiva often speak of it today,
[797] especially when they wish to give the impression of being modern and educated. Papuans close to the Mission invariably speak of it as a natural disaster.

A group of elderly people in Sivepe, however, produced a quite different theory when I interviewed them in 1966. They explained the eruption by the anger of the god Sumbiripa. I was told that this explanation was the generally accepted one at the time of the disaster. At Hohorita, I was likewise told that the people, at the time of the eruption, thought of the anger of Sumbiripa, though later they learned it had been a natural disaster. My Sivepe informants, however, added
[797] a refinement. Before Sumbiripa blew up, he gave two signs. To the Isivita people and those of the Sasembata district he made a sign of blue fire, which meant that these people would be saved. To the Sangara people, he gave a sign of red fire, which meant that they all died. The reason for his anger towards the Sangara people was that they used to throw hand bombs and shoot guns on the mountain. This theory has the advantage of explaining the facts more closely than the theory of the anger of the Christian God; it is easier to believe that Sumbiripa discriminated between the two tribes than that the Christian God should do so.

731 Before attempting to draw these rather various interpretations
152 together under a common theme, I shall refer briefly to F. E. Williams' extremely cogent discussion on the Orokaiva's general attitude to guilt, for which I myself collected much additional documentation. When an Orokaiva is wronged he displays a state of mind called sisire.
[762] A person who is sisire withdraws, refuses food, destroys his own property, may even commit suicide. By displaying his sorrow, he hopes to shame the person who has wronged him. When a person is spoken to roughly, he will feel sisire, "ashamed." It is the normal reaction to being punished. The purpose is invariably to make the other party feel sorry for what he has done. There is something of that feeling in Father Albert's songs. The main mood is not so much contrition as the hope that the singer will make God feel sorry. This is not quite the same as what we understand by "guilt." All Belshaw's evidence suggests that the Orokaiva people after the eruption felt very sisire.

731 Certainly, the eruption would be followed by a resolve not to
784 make the harsh power that brought the eruption angry again. Whether
177 this power was primarily identified with God or with Sumbiripa is extremely hard to tell; it is even harder to tell whether these powers were viewed as being entirely distinct. Father Albert's testimony strongly suggests that the eruption was treated as symbolic of divine wroth as it was presented in the Bible. I have argued earlier that the Orokaiva look upon the Europeans as a new kind of culture heroes. The new dispensation brought not only new wealth and new knowledge, but also new wroth: Monckton's conquest, the world war, the eruption. It does not seem far-fetched to assume that the disaster was taken as